103 824 35. Andung from andu̱h = Croton welwitschianus Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), beautiful by virtue of its shining silvery leaves.

36. Akom from akɔ̄m = Terminalia superba Engl. and Diels. /53/

37. Makom (Makomo), the same, plural.

38. Nkoakom from nkok = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Terminalia.

39. Engo from engɔ̄′, an unidentified tree.

40. Akoga from akɔ̄ga = Lophira alata Banks, with beautiful, fragrant blossoms.

41. Makoga, the same, plural.

42. Assam from asa̱m = Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., with a rich, fragrant cover of blossoms.

43. Massam (Massama), the same, plural.

44. Angok from angɔ̄k = Albizzia brownei Oliv., a beautiful tree.

45. Dum from du̱m = Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn.

46. Medschimitum from mdeʒi = roots, and tu̱m = Piptadenia africana Hook. f.

47. Asseng or Assŏng from asŏ̄ŋ = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br.

48. Massŏng, the same, plural.

49. Nkoassŏng from nkok = fallen trunk of the umbrella tree.

(e) From characteristics of the landscape.

103 823 50. Ngbai from ngbai = leafless living tree (its winter condition).

51. Mekumu from nkū̱m I = standing dead tree trunk without a crown.

52. Ndangŏng from ndangŏ̄ŋ = clearing.

53. Ewŏŏle from eyŏ̄le = clearing.

54. Nko from nkɔ̄ = hill.

55. Anko = at the hill.

56. Akok from akɔ̄k = stone, rock.

57. Makok, the same, plural.

58. Maschok from maʃɔ̄k = rapids, falls.

103 825 (f) Derived from animals or parts of animals.

59. Schok from ʃɔ̄k = elephant.

103 125 60. Mbang, and 61, Mbangschok from mbă̄n = ivory, and zŏk from elephant.

62. Mboleschok from ebŏ̄[l] = spoiled, that is, spoiled elephant.

63. Akuleschok from aku[l] = feet of animals, feet of the elephant.

64. Nnoschok = Nloschok from nlŏ′, nnŏ′ = head, head of the elephant.

65. Abumeschok from abŭm = belly, belly of the elephant, because they had eaten up the village plantation.

66. Bindeme from indă̄m V = fruit bat.

67. Bŏngomo from ongŏmo III = chimpanzee.

68. Akulangomo from akū[l] = feet, claws of the chimpanzee.

69. Ebóloua (1) from ebŏ̄[l] -o-wŏă = spoiled matter of the chimpanzee, spoiled chimpanzee.

1. The official spelling is Ebolowa. For the sake of consistency I write Ebóloua, since by 'w' in German spelling I denote only labial sounds.

70. Akuasŏ from akū′a = animals' lair, zŏ = leopard.

71. Olamesŏ from olăm = trap or snare, zŏ = leopard.

72. Ewes from eyŏ̄s = bone. /54/

73. Bojabúnkulu from boyă = little wives (plural), bo = of, (n)kū[l]u = turtles; thus, the little wives of turtles.

74. Bebass from ebă̄s = scale; the inhabitants of this place probably eat a lot of fish.

(g) From objects.

103 75. Ntum from ntŭm = walking stick.

76. Ebai from ebai = strands taken from the stalk of a raffia leaf, used for house construction.

77. Bebai, the same, plural.

78. Ngam from ngăm = barbed hook on a spear.

79. Bebada from ebă̄da = carrying baskets used by men.

304 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing
465 mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members
825 of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

[71]

2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

[72]

1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always aŭń "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals (ńd̄ III), and molars (ekɔ̄k).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

304 825 teeth in their upper jaw. A glance at the animal caricatures in our own comic papers shows how human, almost too human even, the front teeth of our cattle, for instance, appear to us. It 304 should be remembered that horned animals, tame (goats and 825 sheep) as well as wild (antelopes), play an important role in the 794 religion of the Pangwe since they are linked with the moon because of their horns. The cult of the moon, however, is the cult /Figs. 156 and 157 appear here in the original text/ of the Evil One. Accordingly, mutilation of the teeth is a symbol of turning

Fig. 156.
Mutilation of a Front Tooth.
The shaded part is chipped off.

Fig. 157
Chisel used on Front Teeth.

away from the Evil One, of destroying any similarity to him. On the other hand, it simultaneously points to an increased similarity to the Good, that is, the sun (or God [e-sǎ-mbe], who manifests himself in the sun), and the teeth are shaped to be like its rays. The deformation of teeth, therefore, is not to form a real "point," which to the contrary, would be something unpleasant and bad (the root sǒ is in n-sǒ-ǹ 1, "point"). (It may be that this is the reason some people knock out all or some of their front teeth.) Rather, the deformation only narrows the teeth and gives them the shape illustrated in Figure 156. The teeth are, so to speak, "stretched" and made to resemble a sun beam; from this comes the expression a sǎ́-m-ǎn masǎ́n from a sǎ-m, "to stretch" (n-sǎ́-m-ba, "the row, the line," actually, "ray"). The widely current expression "to shape the teeth to a point" is accurate only if one does not take it too literally; the cutting edge is merely narrowed, not brought to a point. The expression "filing the 304 teeth," which one also encounters frequently, is inaccurate since

531 Quadrangle = bark,
Triangle = raffia leafstalk strips,
Line = palm band,
Fish bone = palm leaves.

The quadrangle is to be found in three forms: as a rectangle; as a diamond; and as a monitor lizard.

The rectangle results automatically from the natural shape of the bark mantle (Figure 196, a).

The diamond arose, and it still arises daily, in the process of removing the bark from the tree, as has already been discussed in connection with bark work (page 213). I here remind the reader of the fact that in this process the tree trunk is girdled at the top and the bottom and the bark is cut through in a zigzag line which, as observation taught, facilitates the removal of the bark. From the crisscross blows of the cutlass there arises the figure of the diamond when the cuts meet, as Figure 157a shows. If they cut across each other once, this produces the beginnings of new diamonds, and these are drawn out in a playful manner. In this way groups /Fig. 197 appears here in the original text/ of diamonds placed across and next to each other are created. Later such diamonds were cut into the bark in intentional playfulness which is still very popular today, and the individual diamond areas were emphasized by removing the bark down to the wood in checkerboard fashion.

From here it was no great step to the transference of the pattern to bark plates (Fig. 196, b).

The monitor lizard motif (nkaak III) comes into being when two large diamonds are accidentally formed one on top of the other in the process of removing bark; in these one sees the head and body of the monitor lizard, Varanus niloticus. Just like the diamond, the lizard is playfully cut into the bark of trees, and then by means of simple strokes legs and a tail are added. At a later time the lizard motif was transferred to the independent decorative barks (Figs. 196 c, 197).

531 525 The similarity to this animal was noted because the monitor lizard was seen daily crawling across the bark of the trees; in doing so it displayed -- like many lizards -- approximately angular outlines.

Above all, however, the origin of the lizard pattern is to be sought, I suspect, in the fact that at one time the Varanus played as important a role in the religion of the Pangwe as it did among the ancient Egyptians who worshipped it because it ate crocodile eggs. The crocodile in turn, it appears, was regarded as a representative of the principle of evil -- since it lived in swamps or in water /246/ (see Section 11 /Ed., not translated/) and was dangerous to man. /Fig. 198 appears here in the original text./ As a

Fig. 197. Lizard Pattern on Decorative Bark Plates.

result, the destroyer of crocodiles, the monitor lizard -- which lived in the air, that is, on trees -- was probably regarded as a representative of the good. It is probably also for this reason that among the Pangwe the monitor lizard was promoted to the class of human beings, just like the Sciurus wilsoni (kŏe III) which likewise devours the eggs of animals living in swamps. A contrast to these two animals is the ichneumon, which consumes hen's eggs, and since the hen is a sacred animal because it symbolizes the principle of good (compare Section 11, /Ed., not translated/), it is flatly called a "criminal," nsŏm I.

The triangle is to be found in two forms, as isosceles triangles and as right-angled triangles. The former are the most frequent, occur everywhere on bark plates, and come

754 or to make him ill, he prepares a medicine which serves to strengthen his ewu and, at the same time to stimulate it anew and in a particular way for the occasion to point out the direction of the victim and to provide the power for the sorcery. In this way also, the cult figures were transformed by a medicine into active magical beings. From the sequence of medicine, ewu, object of the sorcery, the ewu was later omitted, so only the direct effect of the medicine on the object remains. Thus, instead of killing through sorcery, we have direct poisoning. Among the Pangwe these things are as yet still confused. Only among the Jaunde does there appear to be the beginning of a separation between the two, inasmuch as they do not unquestioningly surrender to their fate, but instead attempt to investigate the poisoning and to find and punish the murderer. In so doing, however, barely escaping this Charybdis, they are caught on the Scylla of legal murder: in view of the difficulty of finding the culprit, they proceed in a [422] very summary manner. If, for example, a chief dies, presumably poisoned by one of his wives, all of them or at least very many of them will be punished by death.

754 278 The most common sorcerous medicine used for poisoning is nŋ̄, with which we are already acquainted as a medicine for giving power to the cult figures. It is prepared in three different ways, as white, red and black nŋ̄. As a rule, all three contain toad poison. In addition, the white one usually contains:

1. fine, sharp-edged splinters of grated cowry shells, mica (ebɔ̄b e dɔ̄ɔb, "scales of heaven"), or glass;

2. skull bones of a man who has been dead for a month and who must have died on the same day that he was taken ill;

[425] 3. toad, Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvɔ̄ɔ̄) dried and grated;

4. lizard, Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebɔ̄makɔ̄kɔ̄), prepared in the same way (see "Religion" /Ed., not translated/): /148/

5. the poisonous roots of the Dioscorea macroura Harms (dzɔ̄k IV), dried over a fire and grated;

6. poisonous hairs of the Leguminosa Mucuna pruriens D.C. (akɔ̄n' eɔ̄esɔ̄', that is, leaves from the Seo, e.g., leaves of death); at times also

7. scraped and charred rind of the Leguminosa Detarium macrocarpum Harms (enɔ̄k), with whose symbolic significance

we are already familiar.

Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nlĭ̄ usually contains:

1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
2. a red crab from the forest (nkŏ́nĕ̌le kɛ̄́dā̌) (1):

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ɛ̄ɛ̄, ɛ̌ɛ̌.

3. a kind of scorpion (nsisā), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nlĭ̄ contains:

1. ngō-akɔ́k or ekɔ̄l-akɔ́k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akɔ̄n, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
3. nlɔ̄́lo ngɔ̄ɔ̄n, a centipiede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nlĭ̄ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondɔ̄́m tree (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abɔ̄́mŏdzā́ā), principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

832 days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained.

[824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia
Bth. (fǫ̌b IV) and the Olacacea avǫ̌m, and a small elephant's
[825] tooth, into which are put the following /159/ things.

[826] 1. The most important is the larynx (engǫ̌ŋ́) of a famous singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engǫ̌ŋ́eżǫ́k was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (żǫ́k) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

[826] 3. The bones of an albino (mvēī-mōt), preferred by women because of the skin color (1).

[154] 1. Opinions concerning an albino vary a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

[821] 5. Fulgurites (abī'-zǎ'lǎń), so the love will be as powerful as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. nšŭ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

832
[825]
[815]

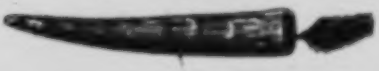

Fig. 55. Love Medicine, engongeschok (elephant's tusk with love medicine in it).

In the love festival that I witnessed in Ebïangon, the procedure was as follows. On the first day a dance to the accompaniment of drums took place in the festive area. At the dance, the leading singer swung the civet skin around and made a clatter with the inevitable cymbals. The chief and medicine man (they are not always one and the same person) thereupon

[417]

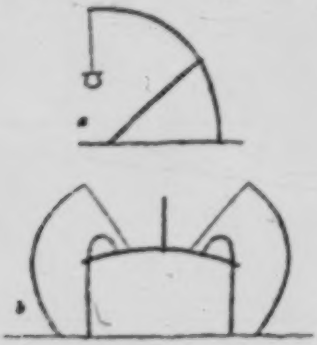

Fig. 56. Love Medicine Festival engongeschok in Ebïangon (Esseng Family).
(a) Pot with love medicine suspended from a rod; (b) frame to deceive the uninitiated as to the purpose of the celebration.

went to the pot, took the bag out, called the participants individually from the circle, asked them to sit down (see Fig. 57), and sprinkled the medicine /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ water on their foreheads in such a way that it ran down the bridge of the nose to the tip. If this did not succeed immediately, the procedure was repeated two to three

832 824 Lygodium smithianum Pr. (ozǒ́k), used by women for ornaments.

I was unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation as to why a number of Ficus species, certain Amaryllidaceae, and gall nuts of the Microglossa volubilis (Wall) D.C. (myūvū́) are used as love medicines.

832 825 Aside from plant ingredients, which are used in preponderant number for love medicines, antelope horns (Fig. 61) are especially popular. These are worn as forehead or neck ornaments, and when they are supposed to be effective, they are blown like a whistle. Just as an antelope never has a single horn, but always a pair, so a person should not be alone, but with another.

777 824 224 The no less abundant shot medicines make up a third group of medicines for good luck. Of the 109 plants used for these, 67 are rifle medicines (biǎ́ń ngā́), that is, medicines that guarantee

[832]

Fig. 60. Love Medicine: a piece formed by two lianas so grown together that they appear as one.

a good shot with the rifle; two war medicines (biǎ́ń betǎ́), 18 hunting medicines (biǎ́ń tít), four crossbow medicines (bia n mbǎ́n), two medicines for hunting drives (biǎ́ń a kǐń tít), two medicines /165/ for a lucky eye in hunting, and 14 medicines that raise the hunting efficiency of the dogs (biǎ́ń myū́) (Fig. 62).

The ingredients of the shot medicines are chosen according to various criteria. First the intention is to lure the game. Hence one takes parts of trees "loved" by the animal (that is, the animal likes to visit them, and hence will visit /Fig. 61 appears here in the original text/ the hunter who has them, even in the form of medicine). In other cases, parts that resemble animals are taken from trees, for example, the tendrils of the Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (nǐ́ěm osǒ́k, " tail of the red-tailed monkey"), which resemble

[Text continues on page 34]

2: Tessmann--33 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang PH9

832
825
301

Fig. 61. Love Medicine, Horn of the Dwarf Antelope, usually Worn on Forehead and Hung from the Helmet Hairdo.

789

Fig. 62
(Caption on following page.)

The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means, whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekĭ̄jā́', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again [262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebration which is called aŋ̄gūŋ̄gu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus [825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwū́ń), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles, [824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afā́ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

754 example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of [125] a Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Sso is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana [124] (the plant sacred to the Sso) or on a halved piece of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkāne I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfū,ī'di, from a pfūde, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

753 As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkŭ,bằn I; verb, a kŭ,bằn), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

[114] Among the Jaunde the a pfū,ī'di is unknown because the cults [119] are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe. The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

759 The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

262 843 the birth because it is feared that the child would have club feet; Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngūī, IV Fang), head and belly until the birth, the head because of its ugly appearance, the belly because of its warts; Bubalus (niă't IV), male animals because they make a rattling noise; Hyemoschus aquaticus Gilg (viǭń, plural lǭń) until the birth; Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǭ'k I) and Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), male animals; Cephalophus nigrifrons Gray (žūm IV) until the birth; Cephalophus leucogaster Gray (miē IV Fang), the animal is supposed "to die of its own accord."

5. Taboo for young girls.

262 [825] Mus univittatus Pet. (mvǒ'n IV) because of the shamelessness of the mouse which in the presence of people steals the Kassada /Trans., cassava?/ as it is being washed; the young girls, therefore are afraid, if they eat the mouse, that a man would steal them just as quickly.

6. Not taboo.

Dog (mvū IV); Maimon planirostris Elliot (esǭge); Hemigalago demidoffi Fischer (ozǎm), but eaten only by young people because of its small size; Euoticus elegantulus Leconte (nlēi, I); Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte and sharpei Gray (osǭn) among the Ntum and Sciurus subviridescens Leconte (sǐb IV); Cricetomys dissimilis Rochebrune (kūī IV) if it is caught in a spring trap and is carrying fruit in its cheeks, but in this case the fruit must be kept in the dining area (būū) and burned to cinders after the birth of the baby; Cricetomys dissimilis and Atherura africana Gray if caught under circumstances other than those so far described; Mus longipes A.M.E. (kǭm IV); Mus pusillulus Peters (okīb), Mus pulchellus Gray (zǫ́fǫ́ III), Mus sebastianus Winton (ekū,ī'), Mus species (ayūlū ekū,ī'), Mus tullbergii Thomas (ndǎ,n IV), but not eaten by adults because the animal is too small and because it lives in the vicinity of houses; Felis leopardus Schreb. (zǭ IV), Felis servalina Puch. (ebǐǭ); Genetta aubryana Puch. (nsǐ'ń I); Nandinia binotata

262 3. ekī, abə̄m, until the birth.

[843] Edible caterpillars (nkūn I) and larvae of the Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. (fə̄ IV) if found in the cocoon; edible termites (sə̄ me IV Ntum) because of the large belly.

4. Not taboo.

Edible caterpillars and larvae of Rhynchophorus when they are found in the open; dragonfly larvae (esə̄, -bə̄k), although then the child will urinate a lot, like the dragonfly larvae; common crabs and shrimp; the mussel Lanistes libycus var. bernhardianus (morelet) (alə̄n).

All other lower animals are inedible.

[784] Of plant foods only the following are taboo (with the exception of those sacred to the cults, such as the Negro banana used at the Sso and Mawungu): the fruit of the atūlūm plant, which tastes horrible, and young mushrooms. These are eki mon since it is feared that children might develop spots on their skin like those on young mushrooms.

825 784 If we examine the deeper reasons why certain animals are never eaten or are "taboo," we find that there is a religious element involved, as well as a fear of the animals' way of life and their appearance, perhaps combined with dietary experiences.

784 825 794 Animals that are taboo for religious reasons may not as a rule be eaten by women and persons who have not been initiated into the particular cult, but where the cult is absent, there is no taboo. Thus, horned animals, which play a role in the cults of the Evil One with their conceptual connection between moon and horns, are taboo; among the Fang this applies to sheep and goats, and throughout the entire region to Cephalophus dorsalis (sə̄'). In the domain of the Ngi cult the gorilla (ngī) is taboo; the same applies, among the Fang, to the chimpanzee (worshipped in the cult of the Evil Ones, Bokung), the pig (an important animal in the Sso cult), and Neotragus batesi (odzə̄ə̄) which is worshipped in a manner

825 corresponding to Cephalophus dorsalis in the Odschüe cult. The
784 python /191/ (mvə̌m IV) is also taboo. We have learned of its
794 relation to the phallus in the Sso cult among the Jaunde, who, as is mentioned in Volume II, page 45 /Ed., not translated/ have preserved in purest form the most ancient views concerning the Sso cult. Large specimens of the fish Clarias walkeri (ngə̌ IV) and Achatina snails are taboo since they evidently have some connection with the Ngi cult, although I am unable to explain in what sense. Finally, among the Fang, the meat of the guinea fowl is taboo for the initiated of the women's cult Nkang. This fact is especially noteworthy since in the men's cults it is usually just the other way around: the initiated are allowed to eat the particular cult animal, while the uninitiated are not.

In surveying the cults, the only animal we find omitted in the taboos is the elephant, which is worshipped in the Schok cult. This can only be explained by the fact that, because of the large quantities of meat it supplies, an exception is made, either voluntarily from the outset or, as seems more probable, through necessity, because it was impossible to guard the huge quantities of meat. For this reason, the women doubtless partook of it and soon noticed that its enjoyment involved no evil consequences of any kind.

The taboo against Sciurus wilsoni (kuə̄ I Ntum) also seems to have a remote connection with the cults. In contrast to other squirrels, it lives in the swamp and on the ground, and its call is therefore interpreted: sə̌ abə̌m, bokūn abə̌m, sə̌ abə̌m, bokūh abə̌m, that is to say, Sso in the belly, Bokung in the belly, or, since both are mesə̌m, "sins," simply: sinner and double sinner.

825 A number of other animals that are taboo are only indirectly
794 connected with the cults; the taboo stems from older religious conceptions. Chameleons and lizards, especially Lygosoma fernandi, are never eaten because they are linked with death (see Vol. II, p. 30 ff. /Ed., not translated/). For young people, furthermore, the flesh of monitor lizards and crocodiles is taboo, in my opinion because both animals formerly played a more significant role in the religion of the Pangwe. The crocodile probably derived its significance from its habitat in the water, and the monitor lizard, its counterpart, from its habitat in trees and above

825 784 all from its characteristic of devouring crocodile's eggs (see Volume I, page 273). Finally, turtles and poisonous snakes are taboo. We have encountered the turtle repeatedly in our description of the cults (see the Schok cult, Vol. II, p. 77 /Ed., not translated/, and the Bokung cult, Vol. II, p. 72 /Ed., not translated/) without being able to explain its appearance properly (1). The poisonous

[784]

1. In this connection it is particularly noteworthy that the turtle is the only animal which is prohibited for the initiated of a men's cult.

snakes with their sharply defined head (vipers!) have given rise to the comparison, penis = snake (see Vol. II, p. 32 /Ed., not translated/).

For other taboos it seems to be decisive that the animals lead a nocturnal life and that they have attracted the attention of human beings by their powerful, peculiar screech /192/ (see the prefix classes, Vol. I, pp. 27 and 28 /Ed., not translated/, the nocturnal animal, Vol. II, p. 36 /Ed., not translated/). Included in this category are aliped, certain lemurs, the tree cony, the flying squirrel; among birds, the night rail Himantornis, the owls, and the West African blue-headed coucal.

Still further taboos seem to stem from the fact that the animals live in the house or near human dwellings and therefore belong, as it were, to the family. In this category we find the domestic rat and its sister, the African rat (edu) which is almost extinct in the Pangwe region, the parasite kite, and the sparrow, the agama, and perhaps also domestic lizards (Lygosoma reichenowi). For the rest of the prohibited animals, their repulsive smell or their ugly and peculiar shape enters in as a consideration. In this connection we should mention: the civet cat and the Herpestes species, with the exception of Herpestes melanurus, the shrews, all of them having a repulsive smell, the shrew otter (Potamogale) because of its peculiar appearance (half mammal, half fish), the scaly anteaters because of their armor, Sciurus pumilio, toads, and frogs. There is a quite remarkable, real fear of the inside of the elephant's tusks,

[831]

§25 which one is not even allowed to step over since one's penis would
784 become as flaccid as the elephant's gums. The latter do indeed
[831] look rather uninviting with their bluish-red coloration and flabby consistency. It goes without saying that a woman likewise is prohibited from eating the meat since she could transmit a debilitating influence to the man during intercourse.

943 In the case of temporary food taboos that are enforced for the
§25 duration of pregnancy and nursing, the decisive element -- as I have
784 said -- is the fear that the animals' characteristics might be trans-
262 mitted to the child. For example, there is a taboo against the hawk-eagle, Lophoaetus occipitalis (abã'ŋgɛ'k), an animal which the Pangwe themselves greatly admire for its beauty, and whose crown the boys try to imitate by sticking long feathers in their hair or behind their ears. In the case of pregnant women, however, the situation is different. They reason as follows: if the child, by acquiring the bird's characteristics with its food, were also to develop an excrescence, how unnatural and ugly that would be! For the rest, the natives fear above all large heads and fat bellies -- two characteristics which frequently strike us unpleasantly in Negro boys -- as well as long legs. In this connection, one readily perceives the accuracy of the Negroes' powers of observation and the precision with which they recognize the slightest differences among various species of a genus. Birds with an ugly screech are completely taboo, since the child might screech in just the same way, something which would be extremely disagreeable, as any father of a family would understand. Of further significance is the exclusion of trembling or wobbling animals, through which the child might even become epileptic. /193/

The most terrible danger threatening pregnant women, however, is from animals which live in any kind of hollow (holes in the ground, in trees) or are caught there. One can speak of a downright horror vacui. If such an animal were to be eaten, the child might also wish to stay in its hollow, "in the belly," and a difficult birth could be expected. Similarly, during this time the parents may not remove any bird nests built in holes in trees, and one of my employees who had made a woman pregnant resolutely refused to make a model of a cassava loaf for me, because it was supposed to be hollow inside.

905 the remainder follows as a matter of course. A day of 24 hours is called alū' mbok (Ntum), "day one," and it falls into day = mŏ's IV, and night = alū'. The day begins with the morning, kī'dī IV or kī'kī'dī, lasting from six o'clock (sunrise) until seven o'clock, in other words, one hour, and it continues until ngūē IV, ngūngūē IV, "evening," that is, until the time around sundown (six o'clock). In between, the Pangwe have as the designation of an hour only "time when the first women come from the plantations," that is, at 11 o'clock. The night is not divided up into definite segments. If they want to specify an hour of the night, for instance, for marching upon an enemy village, they make shift with the expression: "with the first call of the coucal," Centropus monachus Rüpp. (dūgū' III), that is, at 11 o'clock, [825] just as we might say, "with the first cock crow." This same time is also called zī'ī alū', "midnight." In case of a departure before sunrise, the natives may speak of a "time when the first ogbwē' (Francolinus squamatus Cass.) calls," that is, around five o'clock in the morning. Time designations by indicating the position of the sun with the hand -- which in regions where the sun rises and sets at approximately the same time throughout the entire year would be both easy and convenient -- are not known, and indeed, they are not even understood. /Plate 26 faces p. 206./

000

Weapons and Warfare

Flintlock musket. -- Containers for the charge and powder. -- Spears. -- Sword and battle-ax. -- Shields. -- Love of war. -- Night attacks, chevaux-de-frise, pitfalls, spiked branches. -- Women and children in war. -- Fortifications. -- Manner of conducting war (example). -- Prisoners of war.

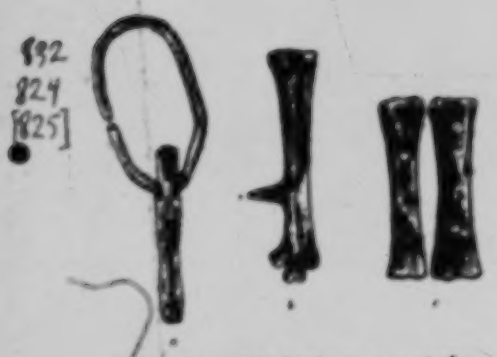

Fig. 85. Medicines to reinforce virility, worn at the belt, usually over the seat.
(a) Wood of Carpolabia alba, (b) tibia bone of a cock, (c) caudal vertebrae of the leopard.

nsŏsŏ'k I], and perhaps also Combretum tessmannii G.lb. (anduń a ndžik). In the case of the first two, the thorns are boiled in a bundle together with various spices and the leaves of other fortifying plants (so that the strength of the thorn goes into the food and thus enters the body); then the thorn is taken out and worn on the forehead or over the seat. The leaves of Combretum tessmannii are cut up and eaten with an egg. Also Macaranga ledermanniana Pax., Euphorbiacea (kŏ'ĭa III, asą́s), is used; pieces of the bark (with the thorns) are boiled and strained, and the liquid is drunk hot.

3. Sharp leaves and stalks: Scleria barteri Bckl., Cyperaceae (pfą́fŏ'ŏ III Ntum, from pfą́ = sword, bushknife, and -- perhaps -- afŏŏ, afŏlŭń = hat, because the climbing reeds threaten to cut up the hat? It is called "bushknife" in coastal English. The young leaves are eaten.

4. Bitter and sharp substances: salt; black pepper (Capsicum); melegueta pepper, that is, seeds of Aframomum melegueta (Rool) K. Sch. (anduń = seed; ndŭń) (1); Andropogon schoenanthus

1. Root tu, ndu = warm, hot; compare nduăn = fire; o-tu = bush hair, torch; o-tu-m = Urticacea Tragia cordifolia

832 824 Pax, burns; a-ndu-ń a ndźik = Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (ɛ̌l̂m e ntǎhgɛ́n), root eaten; Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abɛ̂).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (ɔ̌ŋ̂m), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticaceae (sɛ̌[s] ndźi[k]).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (ɛ̌ŋ̂n e ndźik), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asɛ̌m) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiacese (oli fɛ̂m = men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiacese (elɔ̌[k] a tɛ̂n), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

832 825 Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

833 278 The medicines for impotence (bilɛ̂ a jɛ̂ or bilɛ̂ ejɛ̂) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the persons concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin." The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkŏn e ngŭĭ, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfĕ I, mfĕ̀ I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejŏm, supposedly from a jŏme nkŏn, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejŏm is the same as in nnŏm, plural bojŏm = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejŏm for (e) the man; majŏm, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of bilà ejĕ, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etŭĭn) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding; then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

The custom of milk consecration was formerly practiced throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofóo), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tége III, from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

Thus, the child becomes miăk. Its loincloth is taken off
785 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about
831 completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sŏ-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miăk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus-
[664] tom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miăk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[171] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

the already higher marriage price in advance, down to the last little string of beads.

The ceremony itself proceeds as follows. A goat is killed, and its blood is mixed with medicines by the medicine man and rubbed onto the body of the miâk. The medicines are made from shavings of bark from various trees and are supposed to cause sexual incapacity to be "stripped off"; the goat is chosen because, in contrast to the chicken, it is the animal of evil, of the sexual drive. Finally, the medicine man solemnly declares that the person concerned has ceased to be a miâk and is thus relieved of the obligation to abstain. Henceforth the erstwhile miâk again wears a loincloth.

5. Deviant Forms of Sexual Intercourse

The Negro's strong sweat secretions, but chiefly a skin disease -- Krokro /Ed., ?/ (metíăh) -- appearing on the sex organs and between the buttocks, cause an itching irritation which among the Pangwe has led to the bad habit of constantly scratching the penis whenever time and opportunity are favorable, even when there is no itching as well as to relieving an itch. They do this by twirling the penis in a manner similar to that used in making fire with sticks. This is a sport practiced by boys and adults alike and is called a kĭk e metíăh or a wō'o (= wōk) metíăh, which simply means "to relieve the itching by scratching" (metíăh means itching of any kind, Krokro being simply the most unpleasant form of itch). On this occasion, erection naturally takes place as a rule, although no orgasm follows, just as there was no intention of relieving sexual desire. Indirectly, on the other hand, this action passes into a form of real masturbation, likewise through twirling the penis (a sīk nkŭn) from which, however, orgasm does not always follow either. In certain regions among the Okak this nsi e n-nkŭn (the noun) is prohibited (ekī); it is said that otherwise the person concerned will no longer be able to cohabit with women successfully. /271/

838 to cast about for a protective covering to shield themselves from the attacks of those who are different, just as the hedgehog is protected by its covering of quills -- a covering on which the attackers would cut their mouths and their caustic tongues. Such a covering was supplied by medicine -- it is said that homosexual intercourse is a "wealth medicine" (biǎn nkū'ma); see Volume II, page 23. This is the name applied to it in the following tale which was told to me.

There once was a man called bongo-be-ntuu-dumo (= boys -- 838 which?) who had a daughter called akukebedanga who was very 539 beautiful (the name allegedly came from akúk = Achatina marginata [551] Sw. var. nigrofasciata Thiele, which is very beautiful, and from [525] adǎn = to surpass, because she was as unsurpassably beautiful as the Achatina snail; thus, if I understand it correctly, the name means "Achatina snail of unsurpassable beauty"). /272/

Now it happened one day that four young people met on the way to the village of Bongo (I shall thus abbreviate his name). They were all on their way to see the girl. They asked each other: "Whom are you going to see?" and each of them said: "Akukebedanga!" Then they conferred and agreed that they would go into the village together and wait to see whom the girl would love the most. The young people, who came from various families, were called (I place the abbreviation first):

Schok I, or by his full name he was called ž[k] bǒ žūa (explanation?);

Schok II, called ž[k] bǒ ngōne makē makō, (ekèkō), that is, Schok, bōngōne (unknown) I am going away to come back later (= I shall be gone for some time);

Schok III, z[k], bǒ kǎ jěm bǒdžǒ melǎn (1),
Schok -- of not knowing speeches bad,

1. Instead of: belǎn.

that is, the Schok who speaks no evil, and

Schok IV, ž[k] bǒ nǔm e kūb b'ogbwā'le ba
Schok of: cock and francolin they
jěm e kī'di ma lěne.
know the mornings they begin.

551 VII. Names that report an event before or during the time of the child's birth.

A. Boys' names

I. Names of religious origin.

1. nsŏ̌m, from nsŏ́m = cult, sacred act, Ntum (Fang);
2. [825] ngī = gorilla, as the animal of purity, symbol of the Ngi cult; the name Ngi, freely translated, means "the pure one" (S.);
3. esŏ́n = fruit of the Cardamom, chief food of the lemurs, used in the Ngi cult in like manner (1). /279/

192 551 824

1. At least that is what I suspect, even though it is not quite certain, because it may be that Cardamom fruit is chosen because of its shiny red appearance, and in that case it would belong in the next section. On the whole I do not believe that in the case of names an immediate origin from religious institutions or conceptions is to be assumed. In this instance I simply followed the natives who told me that nsŏ̌m came from nsŏ́m, "cult." Now it is true that the Pangwe themselves are frequently mistaken in their explanation of words, but in the second place the name (nsŏ̌m) was given to me with a mediate high pitch; with the name for cult I hear a high pitch, while ichneumon (nsŏ̌m) has a mediate low pitch. But since the mediants are readily substituted (see Vol. I, p. 16 /Ed., not translated/), I assume that here the ichneumon and not the cult served as the root from which the name was derived. This assumption fits perfectly with the fact that the ichneumon,

192 551 825

192
551
825

Herpestes melanurus Gray, which is called nsŏm, has a gray color which may well have given rise to the designation of a person by the name nsŏm. The name ngī, "gorilla," may also be meant as a symbol of strength, or, perhaps like esŭ'n, it may have been chosen because of the red color.

551 II. Names which allude to an attractive skin color and are for the most part derived from fauna or flora that the Pangwe finds especially beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

4. mbă' = Turacus, actually the shiny red one;
[292] 5. ndūńo, from andūn = dancing cap made of touraco feathers (S.);
6. mvē' = redwood tree, Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub., because it is red.

(b) White.

7. mfūmū, from mfūm = white (S.);
8. asŏn = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br., because of its white trunk (S.);
9. akŏ'm = bracelet made of ivory (Fang).

(c) Gray.

10. edŭ = African rat (in the Pangwe region displaced by the domestic rat) (S.);
11. tŭlo = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;

857 is flung forward. The pull of the rock tears the delicate rope
524 without too greatly diminishing the force of the throw. I also include in this category the rattle stick, the spinning top, the puppet game (Fig. 100), and the device for communicating over a distance (Fig. 101). For spinning tops, snail shells (Fig. 102) [824] are used or a fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Sch. [825] (see Vol. I, Plate 11) which, like the top itself, is called ndŏ'n. A little stick of raffia bark is put through it (Fig. 103), and the top is ready; it is made to dance by twirling the little stick, while the Achatina top is made to spin with the fingers in the manner familiar to us.

Even among the group games of the Pangwe, many correspond precisely to ours. There is, for instance, the hiding of an object among the players, while another player, who had previously gone outside, has to find the object. The palm nut game and the game of skittles with spinning tops are very popular.

The palm nut game is called nig'n. The player takes a handful of a large number of nuts lying on the ground, tosses them into the air and then catches them on the back of his hand. The nuts that remain on the back of the hand (between one and five, rarely more) are throwing stones, that is, the player is allowed to throw each of these stones up in the air by itself. While it is in the air, he must pick up with the /299/ /Fig. 98. Doll of Plantain Pith. Fig. 99. Children's Slingshot. Fig. 100. Puppet Game, (a) and (b) Puppets enlarged. Fig. 101. Device for Communicating at a Distance, Children's Game, (b) Cross-section of the Signal Drum. Fig. 102. Tops made of Snail Shells, (a) of Pseudachatina Dornesii, (b) of Achatina. Fig. 103. Tops made of the Fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum. / /300/ same hand (the throwing hand) as many as possible of the other nuts lying on the ground, and with the same hand again catch the nut thrown into the air. However, the player is allowed to arrange the nuts on the ground beforehand, for instance, three next to each other. If the thrower catches the stone thrown into the air, all the stones in his hand are his property; if not, they are again common property. Then he goes on to try it with the other throwing stones. Once these are played, it is the next player's turn. At the conclusion of the game, that is,

[Text continues on page 174]

524 a hole drilled in the middle. A string is fastened at both ends
857 and drawn in a double loop (Fig. 109, a) through the hole in the middle. In this way we get two strands, as it were, and on one of these are strung two beads, pieces of a corncob, or the like, although the hole in the middle must always be smaller than the objects used. One bead, if I may choose this object as an example, must now be brought over onto the other strand. The solution of this task will be most clearly seen from Figure 109, Drawings b-f.

Two different patience games belong to the second group. The first (Fig. 110) consists chiefly of a piece of monitor lizard
●[825] skin cut into the shape of a fish (atšiń ekob e tit), into which a hole is cut at the thick end (head), while in the narrow part (body) parallel longitudinal slits are made. The second part of the device is a string, to each of whose ends a piece of the kernel of an oil palm nut is tied. The pieces of kernel, however, are larger than the hole. The middle part of the string is looped (seen from the front) over the strip between the slits and thence runs from behind out through the hole (see Fig. 110). In order to separate the two parts from each other, the strip must be bent through the hole and the string taken out.

The second game of this group consists of two seeds of the
[824] Pentaclethra /304/ /Figs. 105-109 appear here in the original text/ macrophylla Benth. (atšiń ebāʼī), each of which is provided with three holes. A double string is put through the holes in the manner indicated in Figure 111, and this is looped around the seed. A second kernel is attached in the same fashion at the other end of the double string, and a knot is made at its center. How the problem is to be solved, namely, to remove the seeds from /305//Figs. 110 & 111 appear here in the original text / the string, I do not know myself. Perhaps a patient reader will try his hand at it.

The final group of skilled games consists of the performance of magic tricks (makŏń me bǫ̆ngo = dexterity of children) whose effect is based upon the fact that the spectator is influenced by the performer and is mistaken in his observation of the basic causes of the phenomena produced, thus permitting himself to be deceived. He does so all the more readily since he is not given any time for quiet reflection on account of the rapidity of execution.

[Text continues on page 181]

524 153 [825] [821] As we know, the Sso antelope is the animal of the moon, while the moon is mistress of the seasons and thus of rain; if one blows on the horn, the rain, which according to the Pangwe produces thunder, will answer.

Once the twelfth group of sentences is finished, all previously 524 recited groups of sentences must be recited backwards.

153 539 Sentence 1: nʉ̈m okbŭ̱n a ke a
Man of the dwarf antelope, he goes to

dž̌ă̱ngan a nkō[k] etĕ
fall in love in the lying trunk inside,

b(a) asă̱ngō'n-ogbwō .
with Assangon-Ogbwo.

The dwarf antelope man goes inside the prone tree trunk (which is hollow, so that the little antelope can use it as a hiding place) to fall in love with Assangon-Ogbuo, literally, the eldest daughter of the magician.

Sentence 2:

ngbūē'ne ogbŭ̱n a ke a
Offspring of dwarf antelope, it goes to

bĕ̌ nŭ'm okbŭ̱n.
follow man antelope. /308/

Sentence 3:

ngá-ogbŭ̱n a ke a
Wife of dwarf antelope, she goes to

be ngbūē'ne ogbŭ̱n.
follow (the) little antelope.

Sentence 4: agbŭ̱n abai (two antelopes) d'a ke a be nga agbŭ̱n.

Sentence 5: agbŭ̱n ala (three antelopes) d'a ke a bĕ̌ agbŭ̱n abai (two).

Sentence 6: agbŭ̱n ani (four antelopes) d'a ke a bĕ̌ agbŭ̱n ala (three).

Sentence 7: agbŭ̱n atan (five antelopes) d'a ke a bĕ̌ agbŭ̱n ani (four).

Sentence 8: agbŭ̱n asiēmen (six antelopes) d'a ke a bĕ̌ agbŭ̱n atan (five).

524 539 578

a mpfǎ, ndʉ̌'man a mpfǎ mangöö, niene: ê,
of Mpfa, son of Mpfa-Mangöö, he says: Come now,

bōte, mi adǎn a kʉ̌'bo (or a ngŏngŏ);
people, you surpass to speak

ye tada a nga kŏn bekŏ'na, niene:
Interrogative: father, he is sick (of) Bekŏna, he thus:

a dzǐ sŏ! kŏ ma nga vui tada
to eat Sso antelope?; but I killed (for the) father (a)

ogbʉ̌n a bǐm o ngūē, tada a
dwarf antelope on hunting drive yesterday, father he

tame dzǐ ogbʉ̌n.
must eat dwarf antelope.

Freely translated: I was once playing the stone game with Bekŏna, the well-known Bekŏna-Mpfa who is the son of Mpfa-Mangöö. He said: "You really resemble an old man who has no teeth and wants to eat elephant's hide (1), or a woman who has no

[262]

1. The notoriously thick and tough elephant's hide is actually eaten by some people (with teeth!), after being well boiled.

backside and sits down on the hard wooden stool, and thirdly you resemble the stupid noodle who on the hunting drive lets a Sso antelope (2) pass by and knows his father to be sick at home, infirm

[825]

2. The black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus dorsalis Gray.

from the disease that came from Bekŏna-Mpfa, the son of Mpfa-Mangöö." Well, in that case one simply says: "Come now, you people, you're talking altogether too much poppycock! Even if

775
●825 Sometimes a dead person who was not sufficiently mourned has on account of this been unable to find the route to the river Endam, and he comes back in the shape of a black antelope to get himself killed so as to die a second time and be sure to arrive at the village of the dead.

775
829 Europeans, on account of their pale look, their long, smooth hair, and above all because of the material goods they have brought, are still regarded as dead Pahouin who have returned to their country, and the fear of the children who rush to hide from the sight of a white man in many villages is due to the legends told by the old people who thus describe us.

---

575 preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated did not have the right to be present at this procession. The 769 ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his per- 534 sonal bieti (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra (mvet guitar, mbaé and nkul drums, mejañ balafo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

304 1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry 754 out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

304 Among other masculine initiation societies the ndôngô rite must be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

782 784 2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndôngô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

825 horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndôngô. Both survived until the Second World War. Ndôngô does not seem to set up

575 as strong interclan ties as does ngil; however, the initiation leader may belong to a different clan from the initiates.

[783] Esye (étye or tyo?) is a purification and reconciliation rite, described by Father Guillemin for the Beti; it does not extend outside the ranks of an ayɔ̃m (segment).

575 825 Among the Boulou of Sangmélima, the Ntoumou of Ambam, and the Fang of Djoum, I found some medical society initiates who call themselves "snakes," using the proper word, benyo (sing. nyo), not the euphemism minkol afan (lit., bush-lianas). Their specialty is treating bites and capturing and taming snakes. Initiates are known within the society under the name of one or another variety of snake, conferred at initiation. There are several degrees of initiation (three?): first-degree initiates /65/ are called bo' b'ayañ, children of the Dendraspis; advanced initiates are bo' be mvɔ̃m, children of the python. Their medical knowledge seems quite extensive; they [765] claim, in particular, to be immune to /snake/ bites, thanks to the application of a special bian (medicament) through incisions at the time of initiation. The main center of this association would appear to be among the Mekaé of Messamena, and it is therefore not properly Pahouin.

575 626 754 All these ritual associations contributed to social order mainly through defense against malevolent sorcerers. The sorcerers, for their part, are often organized in secret societies in order to join forces against the organs of control and repression. Inevitably, therefore, these societies are ill understood. Nearly all of them must have included beyem (sing. nnem), that is, bearers of évu. In fact, if one may be subject to possession involuntarily and even unknown to oneself, one may also nyoñ évu, receive évu, always in the sense of a burden. A person entering a beyem association has to pay for his entrance by the sacrifice of a near relative and also accept the imposition of a special prohibition, the breaking of which (nsem) brings instant death.

575 754 The ze mimfaka (lit., road panthers), notorious under the name of leopard-men, were an association of man-eating sorcerers, a kind of counter-ngil (1). Nowadays what is involved may well be a

1. There are also independent ze mimfaka.

pathologically degenerate form of the ngil itself. In the course of a

is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

775 subterranean abode of the dead, where they were the prey of flames. A tradition reported by Largeau tells of the dead man arriving at the bridge over the river-of-the-west to meet there the judges, Oyem-Bôt (He-Who-Knows-Men) and Oka'Bot (He-Who-Divides-Men /Repartit-les-Homme/), who question him and allow him to cross the bridge leading to Mon-Anen (Great Being), who questions him in the presence of the dead and makes sure that he has "left his name" (that he has forgotten it in the land of the living). He is then turned over to the Divider-of-Men /Partageur-des-Hommes/, who cuts him in two, one half staying among the living, while the other, having been given a new name, goes to the dead. It is difficult to decide what precise part of the person remains with his descendants; in my view it is name-authority; in any case I do not believe it to be the nsisim. It might be the kôn but, in such a case, the result of an accident, for a ghost is a disturbing neighbor, if not a dangerous one, in any case very fearsome, often malevolent. Its appearance is that of a living [143] person, except that it is white /106/, whence the belief that albinos are the children of ghosts. The nsisim, on the other hand, who can turn up during a person's lifetime in a place distant from where he is (witches' and sorcerers' power of bilocation), is immaterial but absolutely identical in appearance with the body. The kôn might be the ghost of a person whose funeral rites had not been correctly performed, of an imperfectly exorcised sorcerer or, if one wishes, one imperfectly sterilized (for instance, if the corpse had not been burned), or even of a person who died without being purified of a nsem (1).

1. Among the Ewôndo, the dead who have not yet crossed the bridge leading to ésam nzigi, the abode of the dead, are called ngudu. (J. B.)

776 825 It also may happen that a dead man becomes embodied in a wild animal living near a village, and that, henceforth, "cannot" be killed. I have not been able to find out exactly whether this is a matter of actual impossibility or of a respect taboo. The animal may be benevolent, like the old gorilla, a former Mvaé chief, who protected the Nyabisan village gardens against the depredations of "real" gorillas in 1948, or, on the contrary, malevolent, like one Zaman, turned panther, who ravaged his affinal family's flocks in the Boucle

du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

As a result of mission influence, nlam bekon, the land of the dead, is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than Zambe's village and étôtôlan. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekôn, who are always disturbing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death," and "sin" has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the biéti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sô, have weakened their bonds with the living.

This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death, which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

3. Religion and Magic

Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
614 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting. All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

● 825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[55] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
614 cally related to totemism:
825 Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

774 825 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang) (Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 769 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

772 777

266 Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Osyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

radical with feminine connotations (yi = to wish, also meaning "to need," "to cry"; it conveys an idea of "desiring," in contrast to kômbô, related to kôm = to arrange, put in order, do properly, and bo = to do, make, conveying an idea of "will"; the passive form of yi, yian, means both "duty" and "to be well," "to suit"). Much research needs to be done while there is still time.

d. Sorcery, Possession

Malignant sorcery, ngbwel, is generally attributed to a sorcerer, nnem (plur: beyem, cf. yem = to know, to dream), being possessed by a malevolent being, an évu (Fang, évur, évus). The évu is not an immaterial spirit but a living being, an animal like a crab or centipede, and lodging in the internal organs of the nnem. At an autopsy it is often found in the form of a polyp or tumor, a fibroid tumor in women. It may even happen that the nnem's body does not show such an indication, because the évu has escaped, but there will be some traces of it, fluids, distention of the stomach, colon, or gall bladder. In such cases, as has been said, the corpse is not buried in the usual manner but is burned, thrown into a river, or buried at a crossroads far from the village, in order to prevent the nnem's kôn from returning to haunt relatives and neighbors.

The possessed person may be unaware of the possession, but he is held no less responsible for the harm caused by the évu. The latter goes out at night while the nnem is asleep and feeds on the blood, metyi, hence strength, tyi of its victims, who fall ill, grow weak and die, or it eats their nlem (heart and lungs), which brings on madness or mental decay and often death, too. The évu also feeds on eggs, on metyi /sic/, and on milk, preferably women's milk (menyañ, from nyañ = to give the breast, cf. -nyañ = mother, in compound words), food which village people will not touch. When the évu has trouble in getting food, it may turn against the nnem and kill it for nourishment or, if the nnem is a woman, it may attack the children in her womb. Aside from these occasions, ngbwel is an advantage to the nnem, even when it is unconscious; he benefits from the strength accumulated by the évu during its nocturnal hunts; furthermore, the évu assists him, brings a sort of luck to his undertakings, which is natural, since the évu gains from the nnem's intermediation. This kind of luck, aséé (from a verb, séé, with like meaning: a nga séé

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

754 Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through 152 the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli 754 ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is 786 known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths 839 (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, bisôk, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in 781 order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my in- 825 formants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. If such a place is discovered, a nnengan is immediately called in to 755 perform a sort of exorcism.

perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only their nsisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nsisim survives, as does the évu, and that they than can be incarnated in an animal, which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

The évu may use various methods of moving about outside the nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black snake, civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed both with human intelligence and with the powers of an évu. It is, however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiañ, and any injury to the évu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury to a sorcerer during the évu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the latter, because the évu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal. The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is

1. Among the Ewôndo, this term also denotes the good bekôn who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the élañela, as Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekôn, or with those who are beyem on their own account, or even with bingôngôt (bingungure).

There seems to exist alongside ngbwel a /kind of/ sorcery connected with abé nlem or mbia nlem, malignity of the heart, and having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of kôn, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive (see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or incarnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so

212 Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alelé, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

538 The old literature included stories or tales, minlañ, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkañete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its principal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abɔp, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

533 Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

515
791
754

3. The practitioners' secret societies all have their own totems. Each group has a guardian totem which carries out for them the role of the étotore or the mvame of tribe, clan, or phratry. Yet, while tribal, clan, or phratry mvame may belong to any of the three kingdoms, animal, vegetable, or mineral, or even occasionally to the sidereal or the spiritual world, the secret society's totem is always an animal, a real animal, sometimes a reptile or fish, often a bird.

Sorcerers' secret societies, however -- and this constitutes an essential difference -- never have this kind of totem. Their mvame or guardian is always a spirit, a being that belongs to the spiritual or disembodied world. That spirit may, and often does, manifest itself (we are speaking from the native's point of view) in animal form, though it will not be a true animal, a fact about which sorcerers unanimously agree. The "spirit" manifests itself, they all will say.

4. Every "practititioner" on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, receives a particular, individual totem, usually an animal or a bird. But no physical link connects them; as with the personal mvame received at birth, there is simply a spiritual, mystical kinship between the two.

515
754
825

Every "sorcerer," on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, also forms an alliance with an animal, but that union has quite a special character. There is a real, physical kinship acquired by an exchange of blood, and a real alliance so that from that day onward the animal obeys the man and the man the animal: their lives are bound together. [439]

Strictly speaking, that animal is therefore not really a totem in the sence I have defined. The natives give it a special name: the élâñéla. European writers, ethnographers, and others, have referred to it as a nagual, and all the phenomena connected with the nagual is called nagualism. It has almost always been confused with the individual totem; nothing could be more unsuitable or actually more untrue.

[Two paragraphs and tables omitted on pp. 439-450. --Translator] [451]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

154 b) Imitating the classes of practitioners, the classes of initiates controlled by sorcerers have class totems. These classes are recruited each within his own tribe.

154 515 c) The societies composed only of sorcerers are recruited from many different tribes, as the need arises, whatever may be the political relations, hostile or not. The societies embrace the whole nation. A sorcerer is always allied to every other sorcerer, at least from the point of view of organization, for often their struggle for influence is implacable.

These sorcerer's societies do not have totems but obey a spirit.

157 825 I have already mentioned the various changes of form assumed by sorcerers, and I shall return to this briefly in order to show that the different forms must not be confused, as has often been done, withthe nagual, or sorcerer's "dedicated animal."

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

[Page 468 and three paragraphs on p. 469 omitted. --Translator] [469]

Having eliminated all totems that do not belong to the sorcerer as such, the following points confront us:

1. At first glance each sorcerer appears to have his totem -- animal, bird, reptile -- to which he pays particular tribute. [470]

The majority of writers apply the word nagual, nyarong, etc., to this familiar animal, and the group of facts connected with the nagual is naturally called nagualism. Now these writers see in the nagual, nyarong, etc., and in nagualism nothing but a special form of totem and totemism. Is this opinion justified -- is the nagual a totem?

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [471] [Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

The nagual, according to Van Gennep, following Lang, is the local name of the individual totem.

As regards the Fan I should not agree, and all the investigations we have been able to make among neighboring tribes as well as in Madagascar (to whom Van Gennep refers) bear out this opinion. The nagual is not the local name of the individual totem but of "an" individual totem, or better still -- for I do not

757
●825

admit to there being a "totem" involved -- of an animal "dedicated" to certain persons, few in number, who, in the case in point, are the sorcerers. I therefore make the following proposals:

1. The nagual is not the local name of the individual totem but the local name of the animal guardian of "certain" individuals -- two different conceptions corresponding to different purposes. And I write, not "totem," but -- which is not the same -- "animal guardian." ... [472]

2. Nāgual and nagualism closely "approximate" totem and totemism in the sense that in both there is an animal guardian and a group of facts connected with this guardian, but they are differentiated completely in the sense that:

a) The totem in its basic form, that is, as a family or tribal totem, is not alive at the present time, but had lived formerly and handed-down its attributes and especially the efficacy of its alliance to all its descendants, but actually only to its descendants now alive.

The nagual, on the other hand, has no existence as a family or tribal nagual. The nagual that would seem to be the protector of a group (like a secret society) is the protector of "the chief" of the group and not the whole group.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

b) Since the nagual constitutes a unit not a group, it could not be a totem, and therefore nagualism is entirely different from totemism.

Finally, in line with what has been said, individual totems cannot disappear: the actual death of such or such panther [473] may or may not affect tribe, clan, family, or individual, of which it is, not the but a totem. But the death of that panther will in no way be the death of the totem, since the panther totem is a group just as much for the tribe as for the individual.

On the other hand, the death of such or such panther, the nagual of a certain sorcerer, will profoundly affect him, because, not a collective group, but an individual unit is concerned. A dead nagual can never be replaced. It is bad luck for the sorcerer, who loses by the death of his dedicated animal the most active agent of his authority and power. His own life is often linked with

that of his nagual and vice versa. If he is ill or if he dies, his nagual suffers or dies; if the nagual dies or suffers, so the man dies or suffers.

[Pp. 474-480 omitted. --Translator] [481]

Initiation of the Practitioner

The practitioner at the time of his initiation undergoes a different kind of test from that which young [ordinarily] men do. These tests are distinguished by a more marked degree of cruelty and especially by the offering of a victim. The victim will first be dedicated in special rites. After the tests and when the neophyte has been judged fit to enter the priestly company, then only is the totem chosen. But the choice is not left to the candidate; the "admitting" practitioner gives it to him. He must first of all undergo a severe fast of at least seven days. During this time he is forbidden absolutely, under any pretext, to leave his hut, which is set apart in a portion of the forest reserved to practitioners and called éli bengan. No person is allowed to approach. Any intercourse with women, even a mere glance, would bring about permanent exclusion. Moreover, the woman would be put to death, and her father or husband would have no right to compensation, pecuniary or other.

During the neophyte's seclusion his "admitting" [practitioner] has chosen the totem; avoiding many complications, he almost always chooses the class totem to which the confraternity is already dedicated.

What kind of totems are they? They never belong to the mineral realm, nor are they ever celestial phenomena, nor spirits of any sort, materialized or not, as happens with clan or tribal totems.

The class totem is usually a bird [or] a swiftly moving animal, rarely a fierce one when the choice would be made because of the animal's positive qualities and not for its power to harm. Indeed the secret society prefers to seek as protecting totems, those that will guarantee swift and sure retreat in case

515 791 ●825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyèbe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

515 791 782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [567 562] before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or [278] woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, especially since the victim is given alèwanè to drink the evening before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem

575
754
●825 "There would seem to be nothing further except to pay the initiator and to carry away the treasure so dearly and criminally bought. But there is still a final ceremony. Initiator and initiate both are actors and witnesses in a strange scene which I should not describe were it not as authentic as it is apparently unbelievable. The new initiate's life is to be united through a bloody rite to that of an animal, who will thereafter be his personal animal, not a domestic or tame animal, but a wild beast living in the depths of the forest or the bed of a river. The initiator has made the necessary arrangements; he gives a signal: [487] at first no sound is heard in reply but soon in the bright moonlight an unknown participant is seen approaching the spot in the forest where it is awaited -- sometimes an enormous mass with a monstrous head, sometimes a feline form that crawls rather than walks, sometimes a long body that unwinds and undulates. Whatever the animal -- hippopotamus, panther, or snake -- it forgets the timidity or ferocity felt in the presence of man and submits docilely to the desired operation. Then the exchange of blood takes place. How this is done is not our concern. But what is beyond any doubt is the fact that blood is let, of the animal and of the initiate, and that each is inoculated with the other's blood. The animal's ear is slit (a corresponding cut is made upon a snake) as a mark
[304] of the link established with the man, in whose arm an incision is made so that he in turn is marked with the sign of the beast. (1)

1. [The footnote, referring to mediaeval witchcraft practices, is omitted. --Translator]

A real link henceforth exists between them. The animal will be at the beck and call of the person who has been made his master. I could name ... a certain Black man who at night receives a vulture or a panther with slit ear, and another who allows into his hut and even his bed (ikoko) a python that recognizes his authority. When day comes, and the tasks have been

performed, the animals return to lake or bush, just as dangerous, often more so, to all whose blood they have not received.

"This union is so close between animal and man that the life of one depends upon that of the other.

"How many examples I could give! Should you kill a panther that bears the mark, you will not long afterwards learn of the death of some sorcerer. Should the sorcerer be the first to die, don't be surprised at finding near the village the dead body of his personal animal."

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [488]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

In contrast [to the position with regard] to totems, both men and women can have a nagual, since both can be sorcerers. Yet those naguals are not the same for both sexes.

Among the Fan, the naguals that belong to men, with rare exceptions, are:

1. panther, incorrectly called tiger, nze; and by far the most frequent.
2. black snake, elom, sometimes the python, mvom.
3. crocodile, nkôm, rarely the ngân or cayman, never the earth saurians.
4. hippopotamus, ngũbe or nguve.
5. wild boar, ngũ.
6. vulture, nkôn̂, but very rarely.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The naguals belonging to women are:

1. black snake, kagélakagéla, different from the mvom.
2. vulture, nkôn. [489]
3. earth saurians; rarely the crocodile.
4. a kind of owl or night bird, akûn.
5. green snake found in banana trees, fôl.
6. a kind of horned viper, fi.

[Nine paragraphs omitted on p. 489. --Translator] [Page 490 omitted. --Translator] [491]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The élânéla, may quite well also belong to the animal clan to which individual, clan, or tribal totems are related, and this

575 754 825 can lead to much confusion. Sorcerers are people particularly eager to conceal themselves and at the same time to assert their power, and they are often clever at doing so. They succeed in disguising the real nature of their nagual: "It's my totem," they will say, if someone surprises them with their ɛlầnɛ̀la. To be able to make their supposed totems appear at will often gives them special authority, which they can make good use of in certain circumstances. Indeed, one can imagine the prestige gained by a sorcerer who during a ritual ceremony thus calls on his totem, in reality his nagual. But ordinarily he restrains himself, for he would then unmask his sorcerer's character, and, unless he is all-powerful and protected from revenge, that is not at all what he has in mind. ...

[614] According to certain chiefs, especially among the Bɛkwɛ, the totem of the founder of the race or clan was originally his ɛlầnɛ̀la. This is perfectly admissible. If by one or another means the founder of tribe or clan was able to bind an animal to his will, to make it obedient, or at least to persuade his followers that this was so -- which amounts to the same thing -- these men may very readily, after his death, choose his ɛlanɛ̀la for their totem. But this choice, which is determined by circumstances or the wish of the dying chief, does not imply that it remains an ɛlầnɛ̀la. On the contrary, this characteristic [492] disappeared by the very fact of its becoming a totem and ceasing to be a unit in order to become a collective group through its descendants.

[Two paragraphs omitted--Translator]

In a certain number of cases it has happened that the nagual is confused with the sorcerer himself. In fact, according to the Africans, sorcerers often transform themselves into animals. ...

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [493]

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

Almost always, I am convinced, these [phenomena] may be attributed to men being disguised as animals, either to safely satisfy their murderous impulses or to obtain victims for feasts of human flesh.

In some cases these men act under the mysterious influence of unknown agents. This perhaps involves a kind of unconscious

575 754 ●825 possession. They believe and declare themselves to be really transformed into animals. ...

Finally, when it is not a question of the [sorcerer] in disguise (which is nearly always the case), one often deals with his nagual, obedient to his instructions and prompting, at least in the beginning. After the animal has tasted human flesh [494] it is eager to return of its own accord. I remember that in a village in the interior, a panther had devoured 37 persons within a year. A sorcerer was accused of having the animal under his command and, as a result, after confession he was killed. The next day the panther was found dead in the forest. A coincidence? Perhaps the sorcerer had made use of the panther the first time, but in connection with the other killings, I have my doubts. In any case, this panther had an ear slit by human hand, as I was able to verify. Without passing judgement on the outcome, this was an obvious sign that it was "dedicated."

In their main outlines, the sorcerers' confraternities [sic] are modeled on those of practitioners. Both, therefore, possess two distinct categories of confraternity, or secret society, one set composed of initiates directed and controlled by practitioners and sorcerers, the other composed solely of practitioners or sorcerers.

1. Societies composed of initiates directed by sorcerers each has its totem, as do the similar societies directed by practitioners. This totem is always an animal -- a custom found almost universally and made necessary by the very concept of the totem.

575 754 776 2. Secret societies composed solely of sorcerers do not have totems; they obey a spirit.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [495]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

This spirit bears the name, engungure. It is also the name of the khun, or ghosts, or even of the souls of the dead after the postmortuary exercises and the final transformations.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.